DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 215 648 HE 015 031

AUTHOR Hampton, Letitia A.
TITLE The Professorship: A Portrait of Women in Academe.
PUB DATE 82
NOTE 39p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (Indianapolis, IN, March 31-April 3, 1982).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Aspiration; Adult Development; Career Choice; *Career Ladders; *Educational Background; Family Characteristics; Females; Higher Education; Occupational Aspiration; Parent Background; *Parent Influence; *Professors; *Promotion (Occupational); Teacher Attitudes; Teaching (Occupation); *Women Faculty; Work Experience

ABSTRACT

The career paths of women full professors at a university with predominantly male faculty was studied to identify the developmental trends in their lives and to project success paths that could be contemplated by aspiring women academics. Interviews were conducted with 13 women faculty members and their vitas were analyzed. The following broad concerns were addressed: childhood and college, early professional years, career advancement, and advice for aspiring academics. Their family, marital status, and role at the university were assessed to determine how the women fit in with the organization of the university and to evaluate the influence of family responsibilities on their university careers. Commonalities in early life that might have influenced their career choice were also assessed. Among the findings are the following: 75 percent of their fathers held a white-collar position and 65 percent of their mothers worked outside the home; many delayed making final career choices until their 30's and 40's; they viewed their social status as evolving from their work rather than their families; they tended to deny credit for their own accomplishments; they chose life-styles that were primarily dedicated to a job and to advancement within that job; after finishing their doctorates, the women began to work at universities; the amount of time that lapsed between receipt of the doctorate and the promotion to full professor varied from 3 years to between 18 and 20 years; role models were found to be influential in several of the women's careers; and teaching was viewed as important and fulfilling. (SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED215648

THE PROFESSORSHIP:
A PORTRAIT OF WOMEN
IN ACADEME

LETITIA A. HAMPTON

DIVISION OF VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL EDUCATION

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Letitia A. Hampton

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

HE 015 031

THE WAY IT IS

In the Winter quarter of 1980, a seminar on the Role and Status of Women in Higher Education was held at a southern land-grant university. One requirement of this course was to conduct a research project on some aspect of women in higher education. The author of this paper chose to study the career paths of the women full professors at the university in order to identify the developmental trends in their lives and to project success paths which could be contemplated by aspiring women academics.

Achieving success as a woman academic, even in a traditionally female discipline, is not an easily attainable goal at this university. Although the school was established as a land-grant institution in 1872, women students were not admitted until the 1920's and then in very small numbers. Even fewer women joined the faculty. In 1977 the faculty consisted of 88 percent males and 12 percent females--less than one-half the national average of 75 percent men and 25 percent women (Harper, 1980).

A 1980 review of academic positions at the university revealed that on a campus with an enrollment of 20,000 students and 1834 faculty members there were 413 full professors. Of this number, only 14 (3.4 percent) were women. Nationally, it was found that 9.5 percent of all full professors were female and in the state the figure was 5 percent

(Harper, 1980). In another national comparison, 40 percent of all male faculty members were found to be associate or full professors while less than one quarter were assistant professors. However, the dominant rank for women was assistant professor, which accounted for 40 percent of women doctoral faculties (Hornig, 1979).

It must then be noted that this university has far fewer female professors than either the national or state averages and thus an underlying goal of this study was to explore what qualities or events made these 14 women special enough to achieve success at a level open to few females.

The illustrious rank of full professor is both highly desirable and quite elusive. Requirements for promotion to this level vary from institution to institution and often differ widely among colleges or departments within each university. However, in general, full professors should possess certain qualities and should have accomplished certain feats. They should have demonstrated excellence in teaching, as documented by student interviews, class evaluations, adequately designed courses and complete but fair examinations. They should have established a coherent line of research and should have received some national recognition for this work. Additionally, they should contribute to the extension of university knowledge and to the development of their profession through publications and presentations made outside the university.

The women in this study fulfilled the usual requirements for promotion to the rank of professor. They are good teachers; in fact, several received teaching awards. Moreover they are known and respected as outstanding scholars in their fields, typically because of excellent program development, publication of articles and books and student research. Their accomplishing this feat at a traditionally male university, in an era when women in high level positions were rarely seen, appears to have required some extraordinary abilities and therefore the procedures of this study were formulated to uncover those special aptitudes.

Of the 14 women studied, one was a visiting professor teaching at the university on a temporary basis while on leave from other responsibilities. The remaining 13 were current university faculty members. Eight of the women were members of the College of Home Economics, three of whom were in the Department of Clothing, Textiles and Related Arts, one in Management, Housing, and Family Development, two in Human Nutrition and Foods, and two in administration. Two of the professors were employed in the College of Education, one in Health, Physical Education and Recreation, and one in Curriculum and Instruction. Microbiology, Extension, Architecture, and Political Science were each represented by one female full professor.

Semi-structured interviews lasting from 45 minutes to 2 hours were conducted with the 13 subjects who were on campus during the Winter

quarter, 1980. The questions were open-ended and, in order to more fully understand the women's careers, vitas were obtained from each professor and were later used to expand upon the interview information.

The data compiled from the interviews fell into four categories: (1) childhood and college; (2) early professional years; (3) career advancement; and (4) advice for aspiring academics. Events occurring in childhood and adolescence were studied because they play an essential part in a person's adult life. Basic career identification and role modeling are found to occur at this time (Hennig and Jardim, 1976). Early professional years were included because this is a time of exploring one's life plans and of testing or questioning career choices that have been made. During this advancement stage of one's life, critical events take place which serve to either boost a career or to cause a job to stagnate. The view that successful women have of their own advancement can give insight into why their careers moved ahead of other women academics. Finally, advice from those who have made it helps give inspiration and direction to ones who hope to follow in their footsteps.

The implementation of the study was straightforward. First, the current lives of the thirteen women were analyzed. A study was made of their family, marital status, and role at the university in order to determine how the women fit in with the organization of the university

and to evaluate the influence of family responsibilities on their university careers. Next, their early lives were explored to look for common traits. It was hoped that commonality of early experiences might help explain why they chose the route of college and a career and how they came to choose the careers they did.

A detailed study was then made of each woman's career path. Choices of colleges were explored along with job experiences and perceived trade-offs. The objective of this line of questioning was to see what educational and professional experiences led to their present positions. Facilitators such as teaching, publications, program development, and grants were explored to determine their effect on career success.

Lastly, much time was given to their perceptions of the status of university women in the present and future. If one is to understand why women achieve, one must understand the circumstances under which they work and these circumstances seem to be vastly different for men and women. These questions were further intended to identify obstacles and advantages for university women and to present the situation as it exists so that women scholars will have a clearer view of the university working environment.

There is no doubt that the thirteen women whose lives were examined in this study are different from the average American woman. But rather than accept stereotypes, assumptions, and the judgments

stemming from them about what the differences might be, it was the purpose of this study to identify what those differences were, how they developed, whether they helped these women lead rewarding lives, and how other women can benefit from the differences and experiences of these professors.

CAREER PATTERNS FOR SUCCESS

What is the secret that makes knowledgeable , competent women successful? According to Bennet and Baruch in their book, Competent Women (1978), women, like men, need not only skills or talent but personal qualities which enable them to work within their social environment to achieve recognition and position. The acquisition of these qualities begins early in life. Successful women have been found to come from affluent families with one or both parents employed in a high status occupation (Astin, 1969; Constantine and Clark, 1972; Cartwright,1972). They are often first-born or only children and usually have no brothers (Hennig, 1970). This affluence often provided money for education. The high status job held by a parent possibly served as an early role model and the first-born or only child position helped to make the daughter a more obvious candidate for the parents' achievement wishes than would have been possible if older siblings (particularly brothers) had been present.

Many successful professional women have also been born outside the United States. These women tended to come from professional families similar to their American-born counterparts but often achieved in traditionally male fields (Bennett and Baruch, 1978).

Personal qualities are further evident in the working environment. Astin (1969) found that 91 percent of the women doctorates in her

study were active seven years after receiving their degrees and 79 percent had experienced no career interruptions at all. This is a far cry from the stereotypic view of the working woman who returns to the home soon after marriage or childbirth.

Studies have also found that successful professional women were influenced in their lives by mentors who advised and guided them (Hennig, 1970). But while mentors were important in their careers, membership in networks and support systems often was not (Bernard,1966), so women's careers were often assisted by only one professional support person, if they were assisted by outside persons at all.

The women full professors at this university appear to fit these success models fairly well. Seventy-five percent of them came from homes in which the father held a white-collar position and 65 percent of their mothers worked outside the home. This provided the subjects with role models of both working women and professional occupations. While no evidence was gathered on birth order, the accompanying encouragement to attend college and pursue a career was widespread.

One of the professors was born in Europe. Both of her parents worked in high-status professional occupations and from an early age she was exposed to many professional women who worked in non-traditional fields. She attributed both her work values and her professional aspirations to her exposure to professional people and non-traditional careers.

The careers of the women in this study were rarely interrupted. When major interruptions occurred, they were for schooling or family responsibilities and the subsequent return to the work force was found to be enriching and welcome.

Mentors and role models frequently played an important role in the female professors' careers. They served as career examples and as professional guides. However, a frequent dismissal was made about support groups. They were often either observed as desirable but limited to men: "The men have a club, you know," or they were viewed by the women as non-essential in career development.

Hennig and Jardim, in their 1976 study of The Managerial Woman, found three broad patterns for career growth which further indicate how women are able to work within their social environments to achieve success. First was the late career decision in which the women made a true commitment to their career advancement only after working for several years. Second, there was a sense of passivity. Acknowledgement for success was often brushed off as just being luck or as being possible only because of the help of others. Thus, individual self-improvement was often expressed by women as the major factor in their career advancement.

Each of these characteristics was observed in the subjects of this study. Many of them delayed making final career choices until they were in their 30's or 40's. It was at this point in their lives that they

decided on a university career and returned to graduate school. A number of them seemed more willing to acknowledge the assistance of others in their career advancement than they were willing to credit their own competence. Finally, they stressed how their work had improved over the years, thus contributing to their promotions.

At first, these findings seem to point to an adoption of the gender model of job achievement. According to this model, a woman's relationship to employment is treated as a derivative of personal characteristics and relationships to family situations rather than as an independent variable separate from personal life (Oakley, 1974; Laws, 1976; Feldburg and Glenn, 1979). However, the values and experiences of the women full professors in this study extended beyond the gender model. It was found that they considered their professional lives to be at least as important, and often considerably more important, a source of reward and identity than their personal lives. Comments were frequently made about the necessity of employing household help from the family or professionals and of the joys of achieving in their careers. The women viewed their social status as evolving from their work rather than from their families or community positions and their friends were more often persons of similar work interests than neighbors or social acquaintances. Most frequently, the women were the heads of their immediate family and in all circumstances, one of their connections to the family was that of a worker and economic provider.

While no worker totally fits the assumptions of either the gender model or its work-centered counterpart, the job model, these successful women seem to more clearly, if somewhat reluctantly, follow the job model. While they delayed making firm career decisions until fairly late in life, saw themselves as having to improve their careers through school in order to succeed, and tended to deny credit for their own accomplishments, when the decision to pursue a career was made, the women professors made it a central part of their lives and, in fact, structured their personal activities around it.

It was this adherance to the job model that seemed to separate the women full professors from many of their contemporaries who remained in the lower academic ranks. The full professors frequently put work ahead of their personal lives, often actively pursuing professional success at the risk of having less full family relationships. This career path more closely approximates the traditional career values held for successful men but deviates considerably from the value of "family first and career second" most often held for working women. Thus it seems that these women had to adapt to male models rather than combine traditional female values and professional success.

CHILDHOOD AND COLLEGE

An analysis of the early experiences of the women professors disclosed similar patterns of childhood and education. They had close relationships with their families. Their fathers were either self-employed or held while-collar positions and many of their mothers were employed outside the home. Members of their families promoted the subjects' professional careers by either encouraging them to attend college, serving as professional role models, or instilling in them the idea that they were as capable of pursuing careers as were their male counterparts. Furthermore, the subjects were good students, had good relationships with their teachers, and were often involved in church and school organizations.

Studies of successful men and women have found these early family and school relationships to be very important. Baumrind and her colleagues (Baumrind, 1971; Baumrind and Black, 1967) followed the lives of a group of girls and boys first studied as pre-schoolers. It was found that parents of the competent pre-school children typically showed both warmth and firmness toward their offspring, directly expressing displeasure at misbehavior, consistently enforcing rules, and setting high standards for mature actions. They were neither overly permissive or rigidly authoritarian; they neither gave in to their child's demands nor suppressed open discussion of differences. Thus, the

children were able to express resistance or anger, but were held to firm standards.

This pattern is similar to the description given by Coopersmith (1968) of parents of children (in this case pre-adolescent boys) with high self-esteem. Such parents, he found, were accepting of their children and respected their individuality, but they also set and enforced clear demands and limits. These demands and limits provided valuable feedback about the environment, enabling the child to behave in ways that were rewarding and thus enhanced self-esteem. Parents of the high self-esteem boys, moreover, particularly valued independence and assertiveness in their children, in contrast to parents of low self-esteem boys who valued such traits as kindness and compliance--qualities by which girls have typically been socialized. It appears that bringing up girls to be considerate and conforming, rather than assertive and independent may not be conducive to self-esteem. Indeed, in a study of pre- and post-adolescent girls, Baruch (1976) found that girls who perceived themselves as competent were more likely to have mothers who valued such traits as independence and assertiveness, both in their daughters and themselves, than were the girls who did not see themselves as competent.

Astin (1976), in a study of adults, found that women who participate in educational programs that offer support and flexability make not only academic gains but psychological advances such as

increased self-awareness, self-esteem, and self-confidence when compared with women of similar interests but in more structured programs. For school age girls, extra support, independent study, and flexability often comes from extra-curricular organizations and interest groups in which one is more free to pursue a personal interest than in a typical classroom.

The professors in this study spoke of their childhoods as having been happy and rewarding. They mentioned the closeness of their families and felt that they were held in high esteem by their parents.

In describing their relationships with their families some interesting comments were made about parental influence on careers.

> My mother and father were great influences in my life. I chose my career partially because my dad was a businessman and I admired his work. My mother also influenced my career because she discouraged me from marrying soon after I finished high school. In fact, she convinced me to attend college rather than to marry.

or

> As a child, I was never told that a woman was somehow less than a man. Both my mother and father were professional people and so were their friends. . . . One of the reasons that I chose to work was because I once heard my father say that marriage was just legalized prostitution and I decided that my life was going to be more than that. . . . I'm working in the same profession as my father. As a child, I enjoyed his work and felt that he worked with beautiful things which I wanted to do also.

Fathers were not the only early role models followed by these women. One said that both of her parents had always worked so she assumed that she would also. Others were influenced by aunts who had attended college and were working and still others said that their mothers influenced their choice of a field of study. This early family influence on career choice, which was almost universal among the women, seems to indicate that, from an early age, the family's expectations of what a person can become are incorporated into an individual's self-concept and become important guides throughout life.

The effect of a disciplined by developmental upbringing was noted by several of the women and is illustrated in this comment.

> My parents were firm but understanding with me. They expected me to act in a mature manner and to accomplish all I could. Even though few careers were open to women at that time, they always stressed the importance of being able to function as an independent person and to earn a living in a field where I felt comfortable.

It has been noted that many of these women followed careers that were practiced by family members. Thus, it might be assumed that if children grow up in a family headed by professional parents they would also tend to pursue professional careers. A study of the careers held by the women's parents indicates a high number of professional occupations. The fathers held jobs which included salesman, minister, architect, merchant, farmer, and engineer and the mothers had careers in the areas of teaching, secretarial work, and medicine. Since over

half of the mothers worked outside the home, this seems to have provided an early example, not only of a profession, but of how a woman can pursue a career and since many of the mothers and fathers were employed in professional occupations, the women had a childhood introduction to the demands and rewards of this lifestyle.

While little was said about elementary and high school education, many of the women received scholarships for college, so earlier achievements can be interpreted as having been above average. One outstanding common childhood experience was that of membership in organizations such as 4-H or Future Homemakers of America which could have served as a medium for developing leadership skills and individual direction through club projects and competitions.

During the years of the Depression and World War II, few parents could afford to educate even their sons and yet all but one of these women attended college during this period. In fact, there seemed to be no question that they would continue their education after high school. This was an inevitable part of the life they wanted.

Eleven of the women attended co-educational state universities and all of the schools that were chosen for undergraduate work were located near the subjects' homes or were linked to their families in some way. Colleges were not necessarily chosen for the programs that were offered but rather for convenience or available funding. One woman summed it up this way: "I would have preferred to attend another college but

there was a depression on and I had to stay at home to save money. This school had the courses that I wanted plus a good part-time job."

Although no defined career goals were established at this point, the women all seemed destined to work after college. Professional, but traditional jobs were pursued in the areas of teaching, home economics, laboratory work and extension. Two notible exceptions were one woman who entered the Navy during World War II and another who became a practicing architect.

Career goals had still not crystalized by the master's level. The women saw a master's degree as a tool for advancing their professional careers but the schools chosen were still convenient to where to women were living at the time and programs of study were still quite broad. Comments about master's level studies were similar to these: "I attended this college during the summers while I was teaching in that area" or "The school that I chose was a well-known land-grant college" or "I was living in the area and was offerred an an assistantship, so I took it." However, a few of the women chose schools because of the specific programs that were offered. "I looked at several schools and this one had the best program in my area" or "I did not have a good background in adult education and this school had one of the best programs in that field so I moved across country to go there."

Somewhere between the receipt of the master's degree and the pursuit of the Ph.D., something clicked. Areas of specialization became clear and firm career goals were established. This time, universities

were selected for specific programs of study and most of the women left their jobs to devote full-time to their schooling. So determined were several of the women to pursue their doctorates that they paid their own expenses through savings, loans, or by working near the university. It is not clear if this was because other financial aid was unavailable, or because they did not seek this financial assistance. Whatever the reason, the devotion needed to work on a degree under those circumstances was remarkable.

EARLY PROFESSIONAL YEARS

Until recently, women were fairly restricted in their choice of careers. The acceptable fields were often limited to wife and mother, teacher, nurse, secretary, or home economist. The female full professors interviewed in this study typically chose their early careers in those areas.

Eight of them pursued jobs as home economists after college commencement, one worked as a secretary, one taught in a field other than home economics, and one became a lab tachnician. An interesting exceptions was the woman who chose the field of architecture. However, in the country were she lived, over half of the architecture students were women, so this was viewed as an accepable women's career. One woman wanted to pursue a law career but was told that she could not make it in law school because she was a female so she entered a more traditional field of study.

These women did not really seem to consider not working. Their lives seemed somehow empty without careers and they viewed a job as a part of their total selves. One woman said:

> After my marriage, I stayed at home for a few years and I couldn't stand it. People were always calling on me for volunteer work. I decided that if I was going to work, it might as well be for pay so I went back to school in order to have a better chance at the career I wanted.

Another remarked:

> All my life I wanted to teach and I would have felt incomplete if I had not somehow become a teacher.

While all of these women possessed the capabilities needed to move ahead in their careers, they appear to have stagnated in their early jobs. The jobs were either ones in which there was no potential for promotion, (such as teaching) or else the women did not appear to actively work toward advancement. An interesting comment was:

> It wasn't until I was denied a promotion because I was a woman that I decided I was going to do something about my career. So I became determined to show my bosses that I was as good or better than any man in the company. I convinced them to send me back to school and finally to advance me to a better position.

This phenomenon of job stagnation is quite different from the idea that, in order to succeed, one must, from the beginning of a career, watch for every reasonable opportunity to get ahead (Hennig and Jardim, 1976). In fact, during their early jobs, few of the women saw themselves as ever achieving to their present level of success. They had found jobs in which they were respected for their skills and abilities and they concentrated on working hard and doing a good job where they were.

This early internal job satisfaction corresponds well with McClelland's 1976 study of achievement. He found that, early in life, children strive to achieve standards of excellence in return for praise from parents and teachers. Gradually, the person learns to reward herself or himself by feeling good when achieving personal standards.

Even though at this stage of their lives, the women in this study had not achieved the limits of their potential, they were performing well in their jobs and were pleased with their performance.

Other studies of successful women (Hennig and Jardim, 1976; Bennett and Baruch, 1978; Astin, 1969) have pointed out another factor necessary for job achievement. Successful and achieving career women are ususally not married. Rosenbloom (1965), in a study of women who were both married and employed in middle management jobs, found that, for these women, coping with the conflicts that arose between their married role and their job role was the major energy absorber of their lives. The majority of these women said that they had to decide which role should become dominant and then they had to learn to live with it. Most predicted that eventually they would have to give up either marriage or their career.

The women professors generally chose their careers over marriage. For some this was a difficult task. Two of the women in the study had experienced divorces, one was widowed before she began her push toward an academic career, and one said that she had given up marriage in order to become a professional woman. For others, the choice was made early to work rather than to marry and for only two of the women, careers and marriage were combined. These two women both reported that their husbands were supportive of their careers and one couple has made a point of moving only if they both had satisfactory jobs waiting for them.

The early professional years were times of exploration and decision-making for these women. They explored lower level professional occupations as well as their own levels of career commitment. Then they began to make decisions about how they wanted to live their lives. They chose life-styles that were primarily dedicated to a job and to advancement within that job.

CAREER ADVANCEMENT

After finishing their doctorates, the women began to work at universities. Some began this stage of their careers as assistant professors while others were immediately promoted to associate professor because of previous academic experience. One woman described it this way:

> A doctorate wasn't needed when I first began my career as a college teacher. However, I soon found out that if I was going to be promoted it was essential. So I went back to school. When I returned I was immediately promoted to associate professor with tenure.

The amount of time that lapsed between receipt of the doctorate and the promotion to full professor varied from between three years for one woman who had extensive previous college teaching experience before receiving her doctorate to between eighteen and twenty years for some of those with little or no college teaching experience. But, eventually, they all reached this level and they had some similar facilitators for their success.

Role models were found to be influential in several of the women's careers. Typically they were teachers, employers, or family members and most of the women were influenced by several people as is illustrated in this quotation:

> At every stage of my career there was someone for me to emulate. I studied under a person that could be considered a master in her field, my boss was successful

> and hard driving but still compassionate and kind, and my dean and department head were encouraging and helpful to me. I don't think I would have made it without any of them.

Ideas of role expectations did not necessarily come from a specific positive person. Role behavior was also learned from such varied sources as parental expectations and encouragement or from observing people whose lifestyles and behaviors were contradictory to those desired by the observers.

The importance of grants and funded research was viewed from opposing positions. Some of the professors felt that this sort of funding had been beneficial to their careers and such prestigious awards were mentioned as the first National Science Foundation grant at the university, the Guggenheim Award, and funding from the National Institute of Health to establish an entire research program. Other professors viewed grants as unimportant in their career advancement. One woman went so far as to say that it was undignified to ask for help if you could do it yourself. Another professor pointed out that grants and funded research projects are important in today's university promotion procedures but they were not in past years when many of these women were moving up through the ranks.

Publications were also viewed as having had less impact on promotion than what is popularly believed. All of the professors had published, but most of them did not feel that publications had a great

impact on their careers. One woman emphasized her students' publications over her own, another said that publications were not important facilitators in an administrative career such as hers, and others listed their publications but did not attach much importance to them. Actually, only one woman was enthusiastic about her writing rather than simply acknowledging it as part of her job.

In contrast, teaching was looked upon as an important and fulfilling facet of the professors' careers. They saw it as a source of continued learning for themselves, a basis for their careers, and a way of disseminating new knowledge to their students.

Teaching was generally considered to be more of an important career function than research. Only two of the women viewed research as their major job interest and several of the professors described their research work as informal, sound but not earth-shattering, or simply general.

This view of teaching as being more important in a university career than either research or publishing points to an interesting question. Have requirements for the professorship changed drastically since these women were promoted to that rank or is effective teaching rated as more important in promotion than what is currently understood? Recent interviews with several university personnel involved in tenure and promotion decisions have indicated that teaching skills and abilities are currently being more closely evaluated than in

the recent past. They point out that this new emphasis on teaching is a way of recognizing competence rather than simply a swing to what was done in past years. However, more stress seems to be placed upon "publish or perish" as a promotion requirement than upon good teaching skills and competent teachers who lack adequate publications are frequently denied tenure or promotion. So, perhaps, the balance of teaching and research discovered by the women in this study is a desirable quality for university professors at certain institutions or conversely, an overemphasis on teaching to the point of limiting research and publications is a value which will stagnate or destroy careers at other universities.

Some factors that contribute to a persons's career success cannot be completely measured by promotion committees or observed by outside researchers. They are personal qualities known only to the individual who possesses them. Some of these important personal qualities that were held by the women professors in this study were: the ability to make decisions; the perception of doing beneficial work; organizational ability; visibility; and a commitment to one's job.

Often in the course of academic advancement, difficult and painful decisions must be made which can involve both the individual making the decisions and other persons who will be affected by them. The ablity to carefully analyze information, to make a rational judgment, and then to abide by the consequences of that judgment are characteristics

that facilitate both decision-making and career advancement. One woman said:

> Throughout my career I have made many decisions that not only affected me but also my family, students, and other faculty members. The ability to make these decisions and to stick by them is one of the things that pushed my career to where it is now.

Another quality that seemed to propel these women in their university careers was the ability to organize their work and lives. Their jobs included many varied responsibilities and the coordination of these duties into a planned and logical sequence served to make them more efficient and productive.

Career visibility came from varying associations. Close contact with colleagues through informal peer groups and friendships, formal associations from faculty organizations and committees, and work in professional, civic, industrial and governmental organizations all provided the university professors with opportunities to make professional contacts and to discuss ideas and accomplishments. While the value of support groups was often discounted by the professors, casual references were made about the discussion of plans with colleagues and of the value of participating in various organizations.

Finally, these women enjoyed their jobs. They felt that their work was beneficial and they were willing to devote much time and energy to it. Such comments were made as:

I worked very hard to get where I am today and I enjoyed every minute of it. If I had not loved the work, I could never have been that devoted to it."

ADVICE FOR ASPIRING WOMEN ACADEMICS

Few of the women who begin university careers ever reach the rank of full professor. To achieve this level of academic success requires much dedication and a great deal of effort, but it is not an altogether elusive goal. The results of this study indicate some paths of development and experience that have helped promote the careers of female academics.

First, the women received encouragement to attend college from their families. In fact, common statements from the interviews were, "It was always just understood that I would attend college," or "My family discouraged my marriage in favor of college," or "Even though most women were expected to work in the home, my family valued education for girls as well as boys and I was expected to go to college." After college, a personal desire to pursue a career became important in the women's lives. The reasons ranged from the practical ("I needed the money and this was the best paying job") to pilosophical ("This work seemed more like play to me" or "I had a desire to work with people and to be challenged.") Several women also alluded to the fact that they felt that they should be capable of supporting themselves and their families.

Some time after entering the work force, the women became dissatisfied with their career situations, realized that they possessed the potential for achieving more and saw graduate school as a means for

realizing this potential. For most of the women, studies at the master's level were extensions of the baccalaureate work with courses being taken at different universitites but often in the same general fields.

The real point of decision about lifelong career pursuit occurred at the doctoral level. Universities were chosen for either specialization opportunities or for outstanding programs. The women gave serious thought to the areas of study that would be undertaken and to the career opportunities in their chosen fields. One woman even changed universities twice at this point of her schooling because the programs encountered were not of desirable quality.

Advancement of a career after graduate school seemed to include several facets: the ability to accept sacrifices and trade-offs, a single marital status or a dual professional career with a husband, no children or assistance with child care, some administrative experience, and advancement of the profession through publications, student research, or program development.

When asked if trade-offs had been made in order to achieve their career goals, almost all of the women had difficulty in identifying any sacrifices. Some of the more common answers were social life, close family ties, and hobbies. One person mentioned marriage but added that this was probably more closely related to her personal feelings of commitment rather than to career choices.

While lack of marriage was not viewed as a career trade-off, it must be noted that only five of the women had been married. Of this number, only two remained married throughout their careers and they and their husbands made special provisions for individual career pursuits. Two of the women had children and both had left the work force for a while when the children were young, returning to their careers only when there was someone else to care for their offspring. One woman summed up child care in this way:

> There have always been women who earned money looking after children. The children don't seem to suffer for it and the mother has an opportunity to pursue a career outside the home."

Publications and work in professional organizations helped in the achievement of university tenure and assisted in the promotion of a regional and national image for each of the women. In fact, these women were widely recognized and respected as outstanding scholars in their professions. Several had written books and all had lengthy lists of journal publications.

Most recognized the importance of their contributions but often the value of the publications was discounted with statements such as: "I wrote the book because I was honored to be asked to do so but it really had very little to do with my career advancement."

A surprising factor relating to career advancement was the amount of administrative experience found among the women. Before attaining

the rank of professor, each had worked at some level of administration from directing research projects to heading programs or departments.

No specific mention was made in any of the interviews about the importance of contacts in the advancement of an academic career and yet the old-boy network is a recurring topic of research and conversation in the areas of recruitment, promotion, and publishing. Similarly, wnile the women acknowledged that they were published authors, the widely documented peril of "publish or perish" was not mentioned as an important part of academic career development. It was not clear whether this occurred because the women were competent scholars and writers and thus encountered no difficulities in the area of recognition and publication or because, at their time of promotion, contacts of this sort were not as important as they currently are.

A high level of importance also was not given to research and yet one of the basic purposes of the university is the creation of new knowledge. Bernard (1966) found that, in the early 1960's, research was of secondary interest to women academics. They tended to be more interested in teaching and most often measured their productivity in terms of students rather than in terms of research and publication. Perhaps, to a degree, this attitude still exists among senior women academicians today but most still strive to be involved in research at some level and they also advise less experienced faculty to conduct research and to publish the results of their studies.

Community and university committee service was also discounted as not being especially helpful in the career advancement of these women. It was mentioned as more of a responsibility or personal endeavor aside from regular academic pursuits rather than as a way of disseminating knowledge or of working with colleagues for the benefit of each other, the university, and the community.

This is the way it is with these fourteen women. They made it to the top at a predominantly male university and they see their careers as being rewarding and fulfilling. However, it must be recognized that in general, today's requirements for promotion and tenure are more demanding than were the requirements when these women came through the ranks. Before a serious decision is made to pursue a university career, an awareness of the current problems and rewards of the occupations must be acquired and a plan of how to achieve success should be formulated.

The professorship is a career full of unique rewards and problems. With it comes a sense of community status and personal development. Professors must keep abreast of new trends and knowledge in order to effectively disseminate information to their students. They enjoy comfortable salaries and benefits, have oportunities to meet many different people, to travel, and pursue areas of research in which they are interested. The job furthermore requires a deep commitment of time and dedication. While office hours are often flexible, much time must

be spent on program planning, writing, committee work, and other requirements. Many leisure hours are involved in the library, or are spent grading papers. Women find that often traditional home duties must either be performed by other family members or by hired workers and that conflicts between family commitments and school responsibilities often occur.

Job dedication is not the only barrier between a woman and a successful university career. University position are not often available to them. The largest concentrations of faculty women are found at two- and four-year colleges rather than on university campuses. At all types of institutitons, they are less likely to be tenured than men and they are promoted more slowly and in fewer numbers than their male colleagues. Fewer women occupy in higher-level administrative positions. Their salaries are lower than men with similar assignments and they carry heavier teaching loads and fewer research hours than do men (Hornig, 1979).

In order to succeed in this competitive environment, a woman needs to be committed to her career. She must set goals and establish a plan to meet those goals. She has to be willing to manage her personal environment so that time will be available for the requirements of her job. She must anticipate the existence of inequality and be prepared to protect herself against it. And, most importantly, she should enjoy her job, be motivated to achieve in it, and be willing and able to take advantage of opportunities that are presented to her.

While academic standards are constantly changing and the women full professors who were interviewed for this study were educated and promoted in different eras, the shared experiences of their lives and careers can provide some guidelines on how to be more a successful woman in today's university environment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Astin, H. S. Career profiles of women doctorates. In Rossi, A. S. and Calderwood, A. Academic Women on the Move. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973.

Astin, H. S. Continuing education and the development of adult women. The Counseling Psychologist 1976, 6, 55-60.

Barnett, R. C. and Baruch, G. K. The Competent Woman: Perspectives on Development. New York: Irvington, 1978.

Baruch, G. K. Girls who perceive themselves as competent: Some antecedents and correlates. Psychology of Women Quarterly. 1976, I, 38-39.

Baumrind, D. Patterns of parential authority. Developmental Psychology Monographs. 1971, 4, (1).

Baumrind, D. and Black, A. E. Socialization practices associated with dimensions of competence in pre-school boys and girls. Child Development. 1967, 38, 291-327.

Bernard, J. Academic Women. Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company, 1966.

Cartwright, L. K. Conscious factors entering into decisions of women to study medicine. Journal of Social Issues. 1972, 28, 201-215.

Constantini, E. and Craik, K. H. Women as politicians: The social background, personality, and political careers of female party leaders. Journal of Social Issues. 1972, 28, 217-236.

Coopersmith, S. The Antecedents of Self-Esteem. San Francisco: Freeman, 1968.

Feldberg, R. L. and Glenn, E. N. Male and female: Job versus gender models in the sociology of work. Social Problems. 1979, (5) 26, 524-538.

Harper, L. J. Against the Odds: Women at VPI. Address delivered at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia. April 11, 1980.

Hennig, M. Career development of women executives. (Doctorial Dissertation. Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University) 1970.

Hennig, M. and Jardim, A. The Managerial Woman. New York: Pocket Books, 1977.

Laws, J. Psycholgical dimensions of labor farce participation of women. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, 1976.

McClelland, D. C., Atkinson, J. W., Clard, R. A., and Lowell, E. L. The Achievement Motive. New York: Irvington, 1976.

Oakley, A. The Sociology of Housework. New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Rosenbloom, T. A study of middle management. Unpublished paper. Iowa State University, 1965.